1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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rule, use their fingers. Some attention is given to washing the hair with yucca roots, but not that of the Pueblos. A little mountain sheep grease worked up in the hands is rubbed on the hair to make it shine.

According to informants, hair cuttings are burned so that the birds cannot use them in nest-building, which the natives would not like. But I noted that hair clippings were left strewn about the camps. No care is taken of nail pairings.

Older men wear scanty beards and moustaches, but facial hair is usually plucked out, except from the tender spot under the lower lip.

Necklaces are worn by both children and adults. They are not made locally but obtained from the Mohave through the Walapai. Arrowheads are strung on them, or a single specimen is hung about the neck on a thong, or sewn to the shoulder of the shirt, like an epaulet, to prevent sickness and bad luck.[1] One specimen (50.2–1621), modern in type, but showing affinity with the Colorado River tribes, is a single string of trade beads, alternately blue and white in centimeter lengths, from which hangs a roughly crescentic shell pendant. Usually such necklaces consist of many strings similarly arranged. Men also wear the shell and turquoise type obtained from the Navaho and Hopi.

When infants are one day old, the lobes of their ears are pierced by a relative or friend with a sharp twig. A cotton cord is looped through to keep the hole open and deer or mountain sheep grease smeared on to soothe the pain. The action is said to be ornamental in intent, and without esoteric significance, but piercing the ears is supposed to prevent deafness—despite an obvious example to the contrary! Ear pendants are worn by persons of all ages. These are turquoise or abalone beads hung on short cotton cords obtained from the Hopi; 5 cm. long for men but 15 cm. for women, so as to hang level with the collar bones.

Huge earrings of silver or beaded cactus thorns, plugs of colored wood, or buttons are stuck into the ears, which are pierced one, two, three, and four times.[2]

Beside those of silver, bright red finger rings are made of the flat spines of the barrel cactus. Holding the spine between thumb and forefinger, a brand is touched to its middle, until it can be sprung into a ring (*sŏltŏrĭtdkŏ*; *sŏl*, finger, hand; *ătdtă*, barrel cactus spine). These are purely decorative.

While face painting (*djidlvlgd*) is indulged in by both sexes and all ages, it is neither very brilliant nor in daily use. To be sure, girls paint themselves more frequently than matrons in order to enhance their

[1] But not especially to ward off lightning, as among the Hopi (Hough, (a), 288).
[2] Cushing, (a), 548.

[Text continues on p. 196]

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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meals prepared for them. Blind Bert's relatives, including a newly acquired son-in-law, helped him about at the dance. But in some cases, such attentions are short-lived as though people were impatient. Thus the real burden of Bert's care fell on his wife's shoulders, although he had adult children in the same camp. On the other hand, note Smyella's story of how he got shaman after shaman for his son (p. 280). Expressions of real concern for an ailing relative are by no means uncommon. 758

While the formal expression of sympathy for grief may take the form of a forced wailing, real sympathy is certainly voiced. For example, the men refrained for some time from using the customary sweatlodge, situated near the home of a man whose brother had recently died, because, as they said, the relatives were sad. The dead man's young son was treated with the greatest tenderness by his maternal grandparents, who now took charge of him. 152 571 [736] [603]

Personal cleanliness is, I think, somewhat greater than among the Zuñi and White Mountain Apache. Children spend summer days splashing in the creek, and men and women bathe in the sweatlodge and creek, somewhat indiscriminately. Men are not always careful to avoid exposure. Men are somewhat cleaner than women. Clothing is only infrequently washed: women wear their cotton slips while in the creek. Not much lousing or scratching is seen. 515 [871] [834] [296]

Estimates of individual worth are based on abilities, yet here, as always, values follow conventional standards. Chiefs become such by prestige and renown based on their personal qualities (dignity, industry, and even temper), on their wisdom, bravery, and friendship with foreigners. A man who would otherwise inherit chieftainship, yet lacks these qualities, would fail of receiving it. Chiefs are not gauged on their hospitality or liberality. Three of the six chiefs are recognized as the best speech makers in the tribe; an evaluation which even an outsider must agree is just. Rock Jones, the shaman, is credited with being best acquainted with the folk-tales, as well as being the best raconteur. 554 624

One individual, a man of middle-age, is known as an habitual liar. His veracity is held at such low value that no one repeats a statement of his without prefixing, "P—— said this." Captain Burro, now elderly, seems to have been a butt all his life. As a boy he was the subject of the smudge-punishment, as a young man his marksmanship was held in disdain, and today he suffers the jokes of the young men and the indifference of his peers. 558

Some women have reputations as basket makers. The criterion is apparently regularity of stitch, although the best of Havasupai products is inferior in this regard. 555

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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kill you." He jumped on the bedding, looked around, got a long stick, and ran out. He ran into a tree and stopped short. He cried out, "Do not run away from me. I will catch and kill you." Then he returned to bed. In the morning he told about it, laughing.

Diversions

Modern economic life is not so different from that of the past, that we may not assume the same leisurely pace in the round of a day's activities. Industrious as they are, there is still ample time for diversion. Much of the summer day is free from labor after the crops are planted and again during the harvest. Men gather at their favorite sweatlodges to gossip, or they indulge in the same pastime while helping an acquaintance stretch and rub his buckskins. Women are equally prone to gather at a neighbor's for the ostensible purpose of weaving their baskets or even shelling corn. Games of chance and some of skill, horseracing, song practice, tales on winter nights, dances, picnicing for wild foodstuffs, visits to neighboring tribes, and the inevitable philandering, offer a variety of outlets. The middle hours of the day find the women and the younger men at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men at the sweatlodge. The most significant circumstance is that despite their leisure, their diversions are not such as would lead to the elaboration of the artistic, literary, or philosophic life. Evidently something more than leisure is required for cultural growth; a pride in workmanship, a passion for novelty, or something of the sort, far beyond what these people possess. While it would be unfair to describe them as apathetic, they clearly manifest no desire to appropriate the arts of life beyond their canyon walls. Which is the more astonishing in view of their frank admiration of the Hopi.

The sweatlodge functions as a clubhouse for the men. While summer days are rarely so hot that one cannot work in the fields even at midday, it is convenient to rest during this period, and the sweating proves refreshing. Several of the more popular lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others are not near the water. While the lodge is owned and even constructed by the man who owns the land on which it stands, he does not necessarily prepare it for use; anyone who finds it convenient may do so. Here a dozen men may be found during the heat of the day, stretched on the sand awaiting their turn to enter, naked save for breechcloth (they are usually careful to avoid exposure), gossiping and discussing affairs of state. Women sometimes accompany their husbands, even in the presence of other men. They wear only the underapron. But such are rather family affairs, when children (perhaps boys alone) are permitted to enter.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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345 The lodge (*tà'ólvo*) is a dome-shaped structure, 2 m. in diameter and 1.3 m. high, set over a circular pit 20 cm. deep. The frame (Fig. 57) consists of light poles set into the ground at intervals of 30 cm., arched and bound with strips of bark. Two horizontal braces are bent around these, one near the bottom, the other halfway up the sides, but leaving a space for the entrance. The frame is completely covered with several layers of blankets and buffalo robes, furnishing an air and light-tight

Fig. 57. A Sweatlodge Frame.

structure.[1] The floor is freshly strewn with green twigs, save for the space immediately to the left of the door (for one entering) where the stones are always placed. These are heated on a slowly burning woodpile nearby, and carried in with green sticks.

515 It is customary for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon; on each occasion four men may enter, but this is not fixed—there is hardly room for more. It is considered advisable to bathe in the stream first, taking copious draughts. The bathers crouch side by side, with legs crossed before them. The leader or host sits at the extreme rear with a basin of water by his side. It is pitch-black; the heat

[1]Cushing, (a), mentions a covering of grasses and dirt. I have not seen this; perhaps it is used on the plateau.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
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is intense; each breath burns the nostrils and the roots of the hair feel ablaze.[1] Suddenly the leader bursts into song; the others may join him. Near the end of their stay (ten minutes or more) the leader sprinkles water on the rocks with his fingers. To escape the fierce steam which rises to the top of the lodge, one bows face to earth, gradually rising as he is inured. On emerging, the bathers may plunge into the creek, or loll about waiting their turn again.[2] 515

Any song may be sung in the lodge, but some are peculiar to it. These are used by an old man, not a shaman, to cure one who is hurt or wounded (*nahamt'dvldjd suvldlgd*, singing to cure). Such songs cannot be sung outside for fear of a calamity. Rock Jones, a weather shaman, sang his songs to produce rain, which evoked an immediate response in the form of a flood while he was still within the lodge. 533 [755] [789]

Midafternoon finds the gambling games in full swing at one or two of the village camps where convivial spirits foregather; women and principally younger men. A typical scene at T——'s would show several games in progress in the shade of the cottonwoods, with shrill laughter punctuating the challenge and banter of the little circles seated on the sand; the horses standing, stamping, at the corral edge; men and boys coming and going; the children tumbling about in the sunshine; the elderly host, who rarely indulges, seated to one side, parrying chaff; and his half-blind wife querulously engaged in her household tasks. The function of this host is not clear; it is said that he likes to have the players come, but evidently they fee him from time to time. I have heard his voice echoing through the canyon, much to the amusement of bystanders, calling on the tardy to hasten. 517 525 [574]

Footracing (*tanomdgvlgd*, race by two; *tanomdgwlgd*, by three or more) is to a point 50 to 125 m. distant and return. Races were usually for stakes. There are no relay or kicking races, although the latter are known[3]. Horseracing has superseded footracing, but it has developed on the same pattern, i.e., a race to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course in the canyon (about 1500 m. long) and selecting the horses. To insure a colt becoming a racehorse, the following meaningless songs are sung while he is being broken:— 526 541 541 789 533

[1] On a day in October, the temperature in a lodge that was not quite air-tight registered 135° F. (outside 73° F). Probably the temperature in the summer lodges ranges from 110°-150° F. Cf. A. Dorsey notes of a Cheyenne sweatlodge that "it is probable that the heat registered not less than 145°" [(d), 48]. [345]

[2] I have found the sweating deliciously refreshing, relaxing every muscle. The plunge into the cold water has not the expected shock, although it does set the muscles quivering.

[3] In connection with a myth it was said that the object kicked (*tatjd'''l*) was a lump compounded of wool and pitch gum. The Pima use a ball of greasewood gum or a gum coated core of stone and wood [Hrdlicka, (c), 46]. [171]

2:11iff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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000 I had not been at the school long enough to acquire the needed information, it was evident that I would have to submit a report of some kind.

123 To learn the form and material embodied in such accounts, I studied the reports on file, beginning with the one drawn up in 1895 by the teacher who had established the school. He and his farmer, with the help of the Indians, had hauled the stone and put up the buildings in which we now lived. When he arrived in the canyon, after the drive from Seligman and the descent of a far more primitive trail than we had traveled he found no shelter for himself and wife, nothing to work with, nothing to work for except the Indians, whose children he described as "wearing a [515] covering of grease, mescal juice, and filth, fearfully and wonderfully combined." After he knew them better and had recovered from the shock of that first impression, he wrote of them as "sturdy, simple mountaineers, who simply asked to be let alone." When he reported: "Death by perishing from thirst on the desert [684] is the punishment to women for promiscuous amours," I knew that the Havasupai were stark realists, daring and stoical, and I would not have a dull moment.

439 I also came across an order for one thousand eight hundred pounds of dried peaches which I must purchase from the Indians and ship to other Indian schools for use on the children's tables, and an order for twenty cords of wood to be bought and shipped.

648 I learned, too, that the superintendent must co-operate with the officials of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, who controlled the plateau region surrounding the small Havasupai Reservation. There were many infringements of law by the Indians, who claimed the reserve as their age-old hunting ground, and the officials made occasional trips to the school to request an investigation.

595 Among the orders was one prohibiting polygamy. The busy, contented Havasupai seemed so free from the evils afflicting the Walapai that I was convinced that no man in the tribe claimed two wives, although I knew that some of the older Walapai men 000 had two or more. These Indians apparently had no knowledge of

2:IIIff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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812 177 leisurely; Vesnor did not drive those who came of their own volition. Nevertheless, this method of bringing children to school seemed wholly unnecessary, if not cruel.

"Why do you drive them?" I protested. "They should come to school without that."

"I no bring, swim in creek all day. I got no time to fool," came his indignant answer.

Vesnor's method of maintaining an average attendance of seventy-one out of an enrollment of seventy-two doubtless had been instituted by a former teacher, and must have grown out of necessity. I decided not to change it until I became better acquainted with conditions governing school attendance.

[157] The children were timid, but wholesome and obedient and gifted with a pleasing native charm for they had come in contact with almost no white people except those employed at the school. [142] Their complexions were light, because most of their day was without sunshine. They came to school with faces cleanly scrubbed, [56] hair sleek and often still dripping wet, and wearing clean uniforms. They had that beautiful stream, while the Walapai had only the water the women carried a long distance in cans or in woven bottles suspended from straps across their foreheads. Very [34] noticeable, too, was the effect of their permanent homes compared to the temporary shacks in which their cousin tribe lived. We allowed these children to wear their school uniforms home, where they folded them neatly and laid them over a pole near the ceiling of the house before they dashed out to play in the stream. What a relief it was—no faces to wash, no hair to comb, no sores to treat, no bath day!

Finally seventy-one children had crowded into the room (built to accommodate forty-six!). All—except Lucy. There was a suspicious silence when I called her name. The children stared at me with their honest eyes, but refused to explain her absence. So I read them a story and we sang songs until the room was light enough for study.

Recess gave us a breath of fresh air out under the trees. And

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Frightened Shamans

514 Manakadja had come to my office on an official call. His linen duster and the derby hat perched atop his braids were special attire. These were the only ones I had seen, so I knew the occasion was important. After the exchange of greetings, tension eased a bit, and the chief reached into an inner recess of the 413 237 duster and brought forth a thin slice of bone. It was a headscratcher, made from the leg bone of a deer, eight inches long, flat and highly polished. It widened from its point to a broad end through which a hole had been drilled for the insertion of a [532] buckskin thong. A louse, complete in every tiny detail, was tattooed on its point.

Fully appreciating the humor of his act, he illustrated how one stirred up the little fellows when they nipped too hard. He asked, "You savvy?" Then added, "You like 'em, two bits."

515 Necessity had devised this clever instrument, for even though 413 we waged constant warfare against lice, and the Indians cleaned one another's heads, vermin were still a scourge. If one were too busy in his garden or at games to have a head-cleaning, the headscratcher came into use. I occasionally picked up a louse or two myself during a conference or in a wickiup while working over the sick.

I bought the chief's headscratcher. It would convince my friends back home that I had lived among a primitive people. It still is one of my choice possessions.

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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overbalance him, or make him turn a somersault. The burro bore it all good-naturedly and seemed to object very little to the fun: the only time he showed decided inappreciation was when the Indians got him down into deep water and forced his head under for too long a time.

A little later on a horse was brought, who entered into the sport as if he were used to it. He swam back and forth and took to the water as willingly as a child takes candy. The boys hung on to his mane, got on his back, his neck, or hung on to his tail, and, to all seeming, it was all the same to him.

Though they are so fond of the water, the Havasupais cannot be called in some respects a cleanly people. Far from it. Though they take the sweat bath almost as a religious rite[1] and their skin is thus kept clean, there is another kind of cleanliness in which they are very remiss. It would be unreasonable to expect that people living in the exposed wicker huts of the Havasupais could approach anywhere near the ordinary white man's standard of cleanliness. But certainly they might have a higher standard than they do. Lice swarm in the heads of the children and most of the women. On the other hand, all the younger men are particular to be cleanly in this regard, and dress their hair with skill and neatness. Bed-bugs abound in Havasu Canyon as in no other place on earth. They swarm everywhere, and are absolutely found in clusters in the sand, under the old bark of decayed trees, and in every conceivable and inconceivable lodging-place. The warm sand and the seductive moisture that obtains during the major part of the year must be especially conducive to their

[1] See "In and Around the Grand Canyon."

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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515 136 breeding, for they are ubiquitous. Yet, strange to say, I have never known of an instance where a bed-bug has been brought out of the canyon by a visitor. Though I have been with the Havasupais scores of times I never detected one of these vermin either in my clothing or bedding. The breed seems to be peculiar to the warm, moist air of the canyon and to be unable to live away from it, for which we give hearty thanks.

136 Now and again scorpions may be found, and, after a rain, I have seen a score of hundred-legged worms (perfectly harmless) rolled up on the trail between the village and Bridal Veil Falls.

Rattlesnakes are not common anywhere in those portions of the canyon much visited by the Havasupais, but now and then one may be found on the trails or basking in the sun on the rocks near by. Elsewhere in this canyon and its many greater or lesser tributaries they are common, and the Indians can find any quantity if they are sent for them. In all my years of wandering to and fro, though, I have not seen a half-dozen rattlesnakes in Havasu Canyon.

Other pests are mosquitoes, gnats, and a small black fly which, in certain seasons, persistently lodges in the eye, causing considerable annoyance, and sometimes distress and pain. There are not many mosquitoes, though at times they are troublesome enough to satisfy one for their scarcity.

285 [462] Many of the women are expert basket makers, and in my book on Indian Basketry I have fully explained their methods of work and the charming nature of their designs. The Havasu Canyon is a basket maker's paradise, for the stream is lined for miles with willows [137] suitable for this work.

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Fig. 11. Sweat lodge and bathers. A. Earth-covered sweat lodge, with blankets and canvas cover thrown back from doorway. B. Juan Sinyella entering lodge, while previous occupants rest under brush shade at left and await next turn. C. Duke Iditicava inside sweat lodge, taking water from can to sprinkle on hot rocks. D. Duke under brush shade after leaving sweat lodge.

775 time near those he knew in life. Relatives commonly witness signs that such a ghost is lurking about although they may not see him.

343 517 571 562 757 515 The Havasupai are confirmed users of the sweat lodge. While a sweat bath is regarded as therapeutic and the ritual used has supernatural connotation, the sweat lodge serves primarily as a place of assembly for men who make a social occasion of such gatherings, visiting, joking, and discussing tribal affairs. Few women use the sweat lodge, and when one does so, it is usually in company with her husband or another woman.

Mission Activity

797 Early Christian influences in Supai seem to have been negligible. The Episcopal Church sent missionaries on infrequent visits to the canyon, beginning in 1927. A resident nurse, a devout Christian, held prayer meetings and Sunday School in the school building for several years during the 1930's. In 1939, the Episcopal Church formally recognized its "newest mission among the Havasupai," placing the Rev. Cecil Harris in charge (Jenkins, n.d.). Monthly meetings with the aid of interpreters were held in Supai, and Jim Crook, a recent Havasupai convert to Christianity, held Sunday School during the Rev. Harris' absence. After attending Cook Christian Training School for Indians in Phoenix for four years, beginning in 1940, Jim Crook became an evangelist, but he has been inactive in recent years.

In 1948, the Episcopal Church obtained from Jim Crook some land on the reservation and began construction of St. Andrew's Chapel, a quonset hut which was flown in sections by helicopter into the canyon and there erected on a stone foundation. That year, Miss Laetitia Viele became resident missionary in Supai, initiating a program including Christian devotional meetings, first aid treatment, community social activities, and special educational and social activities for children. While the missionary rendered many services to the community and had an active program for children, the adult attitude toward Christianity generally remained apathetic. The Episcipal Mission was closed in July, 1956. Its building was leased temporarily to the United Indian Mission, an interdenominational organization. Mr. and Mrs. David Chambers have been the resident missionaries since that time and have had the active cooperation of the resident agent and [657] his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Collins, in mission work. Under this leadership an adult program has been stressed and numerous adults are now active church members.

[562] Havasupai women are at present showing greater interest in Christianity than are the men. One young woman is a graduate of Cook Christian Training School in Phoenix and another is attending. Under the leadership of Mrs. Chambers, women attend a weekly prayer service and a teacher training class. Several of the women alternate in teaching the junior Sunday School class.

CHAPTER II

INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infancy

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Children of both sexes are desired by the Havasupai. A man usually wants a boy to help him eventually in his work, but if the baby is a girl, the mother is glad that she can look forward to the assistance of a daughter. It is said that after a baby is a few weeks old the parents "don't care what kind it is." Men usually pay a little more attention to an infant boy than they do to a girl, and this difference increases as a child grows older and becomes more closely associated with the parent of the same sex in all sex-defined activities.

Birth Customs

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At birth a baby is received on a blanket placed beneath his mother for this purpose. One of the women assisting with the birth, usually the baby's maternal grandmother or another close relative, ties the umbilical cord 1 to 1 1/2 in. from his body before severing the cord. After bathing the infant in warm yucca suds, an attendant dusts his navel with powered red ocher, obtained in lumps from a secret place and ground on a metate. (In summer, a baby's entire body is frequently rubbed with powdered red ocher to prevent prickly heat.) [515] [278] [854]

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To insure that a baby's face and head will be well formed, and that his back and limbs will grow straight, an attendant deftly pretends to shape his face, head, and body with her fingertips. She lightly smoothes the brow and cheeks, points the chin, heightens the bridge of the nose, lengthens the ear lobes, raises the hard palate, and pinches the gums. She rounds the head with special attention to reshaping any temporary deformity of the skull resulting from the birth process, although no pressure is applied. With long strokes, she straightens the back, the arms, and the legs. The baby's face and body then may be colored with red ocher powder or with a paste, formerly a mixture of red ocher and deer fat, but now a compound of red ocher and any available grease, such as lard or cold cream. [854] [302] [386]

Use of the Cradleboard

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A cradleboard is made ahead of time by a female relative of the baby's mother or father, preferably his maternal grandmother. If neither parent has a close relative among the few remaining skilled weavers in the Havasupai tribe, the cradleboard is obtained by trade or purchase from one of these weavers. [302] [438]

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 13. Activities in Havasu Creek. A. Young people swimming. B. Lucille and Ida Uqualla and Bert Jones washing clothes at the swimming hole. C. Andrew Manakaja and Bert Jones bathing. The creek is the only source of water on the reservation.

touch-tag, strike upstream against a current where the stream narrows, swim under water, and strive at games and races which they devise. In short, a Havasupai child is at home in the water. 857 868

It is said that in former times boys and girls swam nude in separate groups. Today boys wear swimming trunks, undershorts, or levis, and girls wear dresses. Younger girls may wear a blouse and shorts. [291] [177]

Children of both sexes bathe and wash their clothing while they are in the water. [515]

Aggression and Quarrels

No quarreling or fighting between small girls, or between girls and boys, was observed. A single fight between young boys was witnessed. In a dispute, the behavior of children appears to parallel closely that of adults. The disagreement may take the form of a scuffling bout in which pummeling with fists, scratching, hair pulling and wrestling are employed, along with verbal insults. Afterwards, the persons concerned often avoid contact until their anger has cooled. If they chance to meet, they may ignore one another's presence, or exchange insulting remarks. Women and girls usually scratch, pull hair, and slap or sometimes punch one another. One contestant may throw the other to the ground and hold her down while beating her or pulling her hair. Men and boys strike blows with their fists, strike with some object at hand, knock each other down, and attempt by wrestling to pin an opponent down. In at least one instance, a young husband followed his wife to a rendezvous with her lover, but, avoiding physical combat, he threw rocks at his erring wife and his rival from a sheltered spot. Then he ran away. 578 857 865 [837]

Causes of fighting among children were not thoroughly investigated. Boastfulness is said to cause antagonism among boys, and one may strike out at his tormentor if he is taunted or ridiculed at some length. More aggressive boys may pick fights, but other children appear to keep out of their way if possible.

In the one fight witnessed, contestants were about 10 years old. One boy was an illegitimate child, a ward of his maternal grandparents. The bout occurred at the public gambling ground with relatives of both boys present, but no attempt was made to stop the fight, no crowd gathered around them, and no instructions or encouragements were called out, although gamblers watched the contest with interest while continuing their games. The struggle was one of wrestling (not employing conventional holds), and the objective of each appeared to be to throw the other flat on the ground. When the levis of one boy slipped, partly exposing his backside, the crowd tittered. The boys, being quite evenly matched, struggled until both were getting tired. They finally quit, the illegitimate boy crying a little. [848]

while medicine men had no such role. Sinyella, Manakaja, Supai Charley, and Pakadagova's father, all chiefs, made puberty dresses in former times. However, in more recent generations, Allen Akaba and Mark Hanna, both shamans, are named among those who "know how" to make such dresses. 881 292

The buckskin dress commonly worn was described by Spier (1928, 185-6). It consisted of a one-piece front section, suspended by a loop around the neck which covered the body in front from the neckline to the ankles and a back apron, tied around the waist and hanging to the ankles. Both front and back were fringed down the sides and along the lower edge. The skirt was left open on both sides, exposing a girl's thighs while she was moving about or sitting down. A rabbitskin blanket was worn over the shoulders of this dress. Originally, a woven Hopi belt was preferred, but in more recent times a silver conch belt was sometimes worn. [177]

A puberty dress differed from the ordinary one only in color; it was stained red by rubbing powdered ocher into the buckskin. In the later period of using buckskin dresses for this ceremony, silver buttons occasionally were added to the skirt front, their arrangement being an individual matter. Doubtless, variations in decoration were carried out according to personal perferences and materials on hand. [386] [301]

The only symbolic meaning of the puberty dress or its design apparently was its red color, which symbolized the menstrual blood, although no emphasis was given this point by verbalization during the ceremony. [822]

After its use at puberty, a dress was saved for wear at round dances or funerals, or on other special occasions. Its color did not make it objectionable for such future use. Although it was reported that a few women might still have their puberty dresses, the investigator was unable to find one. In each case, the woman had burned it upon the death of the man who had made it for her, or in some instances she had simply discarded it because it was old or shabby. [768]

After the practice of making buckskin puberty dresses fell into disuse, a simple cotton dress was substituted. If an old dress were used, it would be discarded later.

Today menstrual pads and all things that become soiled with blood are buried. Burning them would cause a girl to be barren, to miscarry in pregnancy, or to lose all her children in infancy. [783] [826]

Bath, Shampoo, and Paint

At the onset of her first menstrual period, a pubescent girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her face and body painted by her mother, who meanwhile admonishes her to be industrious, so that she may become a good 881 515 302

881 wife and mother, and to follow the proper observances and taboos through-
515 out her life, so that she may remain young, attractive and vigorous.
302

It is believed that the face of a girl while menstruating or following childbirth must be washed in cold water because hot water causes wrinkles. Premature greyness will result if a girl touches her hair while it is wet, and she is also forbidden to eat before her hair dries. (An informant explained that failure to observe these rules causes white women to turn grey while young. Informants frequently made comments of this kind to explain the premature aging of white women who were thought to fare less favorably than the Havasupai women.) The girl's mother dries her hair by catching strands in her fingers and flipping the ends with a stick.

Spier (1928, 326) describes a bath and shampoo on the first of the four days during which the puberty ritual is observed. He notes that, "A girl should run to the east at dawn each of the four days. Then she may wash her hair and body." Present informants state that a pubescent girl should be bathed on four successive mornings, beginning with the first day of her menses. Subsequently, except following childbirth, a girl should not bathe until four days after commencement of her menses. She arises while it is still dark, bathes herself and shampoos her hair in yucca suds.

[386] Following her bath, a girl's body and face are painted by her mother with powdered red ocher, or with liquid red dye from the fruit of the opuntia cactus.

[841] [177] If powdered ocher is used, no deer fat or other grease is mixed with it, because a girl's face would remain oily like the fat. At present, cosmetic cream, lipstick, and cream rouge are taboo during menstruation for the same reason. However, it is suspected that lipstick, at least, may be used by girls who are being courted, especially at boarding school or at work outside the reservation.

386 415 Before metal strainers were available, liquid dye was obtained from the opuntia by pressing and draining the juice from the pear seeds over a primitive strainer fashioned from Mormon tea plant stems placed across a pottery bowl. If the opuntia fruit were out of season, dye was made by boiling the dried opuntia pears.

881 302 [114] [822] Spier (1928, 326) states that a girl is "painted red, save for her face which is decorated with the brown juice of the opuntia." In a personal communication, Spier added that the red to which he referred for body paint was red ocher. (While ripe opuntia pears are purplish red and the dye obtained from them may be more brown than red, informants referred to it as red dye.) Spier's informants thus described the use of a red paint for a girl's body and dye from the opuntia fruit for designs on her face. Spier (personal communication, 1957) states that all-over body paint was invariably red. Several informants now assert that either powdered red ocher or opuntia dye

The present older generation of women wears Mother Hubbard dresses, and a few occasionally wear shawls. Younger women wear cotton dresses purchased from stores or made at home on one of the few treadle sewing machines owned by Havasupai women. Men no longer make any kind of clothing. Young girls dress in skirts and blouses or cotton dresses, bobby socks, and saddle oxfords or other low-heeled shoes. Mature women also wear low-heeled oxfords, while old women often go barefoot around home. 291 [177]

Two informants reported that formerly women sometimes made dresses from the woven, soft, inner bark of the juniper. Neither informant was able to give details of the weaving process, nor of the dress design, but both said that the material used felt soft to the skin. This has not been checked with other informants. Spier (personal communication, 1957) writes, "The dresses of woven bark are probably quite correct, though I was not told of them. They were presumably skirts or kilts (which is however really a pair of aprons or skirts), since such bark skirts were normal dress among the tribes of a wide area--western Arizona, California, and the Basin--on the margin of which lay the Havasupai." 291 287

Subsequently (in 1958) an informant described the bark dress thus: "The skirt was woven from the waist to below the hips, and the lower half of it was loose like a Hawaiian skirt. I don't think anything was worn underneath. The blouse was made of two separate pieces, one in front and one in back. Sometimes a buckskin blouse was worn with a bark skirt."

Women customarily wore their hair long, with bangs cut at eyebrow level. The hair was permitted to hang loosely in back to the shoulders. Women in former times reportedly never thought of curling their hair, but occasionally they would arrange it in three braids, one in back and one on either side hanging in front of the shoulders. Women sometimes tied together strands of hair from above the ears to the back of the head to hold the remaining hair back from the face. After contact with whites had provided them models with curly hair, young girls tried to imitate it. They made a primitive curler by splitting a green willow half of its total length, winding the hair on the split portion and bending the unsplit portion over to hold the hair in place. Each curler was anchored by the one above it, curlers in the top row having their ends tucked into the straight hair above them. 302 302 177

At present older women wear their hair in the original style, but are perhaps neater in its arrangement than formerly. A few of the younger married women have their hair in bangs at eyebrow level, the long hair in back being cut to an even length. Many of the younger women and adolescent girls now have permanent waves, or use curlers of various types available in Anglo-American stores. They strive to imitate popular but conservative Anglo-American hair styles.

Most of the women shampoo their hair frequently. Hair and body lice are not common, and an effort usually is made to exterminate lice if they are discovered on a child. 302 515

wrinkel in their twenties. But look at me, I'm 44 and hardly have any wrinkles. Another thing, during the first four days of your monthly, don't smile very much, because it pulls your face in wrinkles and will leave lines there. We already told you not to eat meat or scratch with your nails at that time, and you shouldn't smoke for those four days. The same rules are for your husband and will keep him young too if he does everything right. We never told your people these things, so they just get old real soon. We're telling you because we want you to keep young like us. These things will make you look real young till in your fifties or sixties."

The method of washing the face was not checked with older informants but was verified by several of middle age. It is interesting that this informant mentioned refraining from smiling, but neglected any mention of frowning. The Havasupai characteristically are a smiling people. A frown is seldom seen, and the face in repose customarily wears a placid expression.

The Havasupai are relatively fastidious about personal cleanliness of their bodies and clothing from childhood until, perhaps, middle age. Families customarily bathe together daily in the creek during warm weather. Although middle-aged or old persons bathe less frequently, they go to a shallow place in the creek or bathe in a nearby irrigation ditch, modestly remaining partly clothed during the process. Creek bathing is believed to bring a rheumatic attack if the water is too cold. In winter, tub or sponge baths are taken, but less frequently. Personal cleanliness probably was emphasized less during winter plateau residence prior to permanent canyon residence and the ready availability of the water of Havasu Creek, which facilitates bathing.

Sexual Attitudes and Premarital Experiences

The assertion that former generations refrained from premarital sexual relations appears to be a statement of the cultural ideal rather than fact. Informants usually prefaced a discussion of the subject with this generalization, but subsequent explanations and case descriptions revealed that, although premarital sexual license may have been more restricted than at present, it was nevertheless quite general.

Teaching Modesty and Reticence

Although children of both sexes played together in early childhood, small girls were warned to seek privacy for excretory purposes and to avoid exposing their genitals in the presence of boys. Very young siblings of opposite sex now visit the toilet area together, and an older sister frequently has the obligation of attending a brother too young to take care of himself.

Small girls traditionally were cautioned to beware of sexual advances by older boys. In 1952, the mother of a four-year-old girl remarked that

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports."A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [341]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [847]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 824

The Havasupi house *(hawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [356]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach [515] maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their marriage, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers 551 without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

881 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed [523] that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

861 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, [177] yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 868 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller bro- 882 thers and sisters. Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday [523] the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

345 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usally covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish [533] they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horseman do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 868 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 [423] 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. [17] 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow piñon log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Farish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. [15] 121

177 In comparing aboriginal Havasupai life with that of today, the most
51) outstanding fact is that it's just plain easier to live now. It's easier for the children to survive once they are born and it's easier for their mothers to bear them, since many of them go out to the hospital at Kingman for this purpose. It's easier to keep healthy and easier to recover when one is ill. Preparing food is a simple task compared to what it was. Many household goods, with indispensable functions, are available in the store in improved form and more lasting quality. Keeping warm in the winter now requires half the time and less than half the worry for many families have kerosene or wood stoves. Probably most important of all is the fact that food is easier to get. This has resulted, somewhat, in less emphasis
[594] on the family as an economic unit—a condition which has been accom-
[586] panied by a certain number of undesirable factors such as an increase in the number of divorces.

517 Even though the more readily available food supply has increased the
[461] amount of leisure time, there has been no corresponding elaboration of
525 spare time activities or additional specialization. In the heat of early afternoon, however, one may still see the women gathering from all parts of the canyon by foot and horseback at some appointed place for their gambling session. This is an important daily event and the women, clad in their best dresses, congregate for poker, blackjack, Russian bank and plenty of gossip. Gambling is not limited to the women by any means, but they are the experts—they should be—they get more practice, for with them it is part of the daily routine and it has been for a long time. Before
[177] playing cards were introduced, intricate native games were played instead.

345 While the women gamble, most of the men take sweat-baths. This is
[512] their most important source of daily recreation. The sweat house is a small dome shaped structure over a shallow, circular pit. The frame is made of about a dozen slender poles set into the ground on one side of the pit and arched across to the other side. These are bound together where they cross and a number of horizontal braces are bent around them, leaving space for an entrance. This framework may be covered with blankets or brush and dirt.

● 555 Stones are heated outside and put into a small pit within the sweat
517 house; then three or four men, clad in breech cloths, enter and close the

345

A sweathouse framework.

345
5W-

A completed sweathouse showing the nearby pile of stones which are heated and carried inside to produce steam when they are sprinkled with water.

[P. 45]

Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

515 517 [755] blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

512 By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

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175 Mr. Cushing's best account of these people, however, is published in another connection, wherein he relates how he made a long and dangerous journey from Moqui to the Supai Cañon.*

Following his description of hazardous descent into that fearful gorge, Cushing goes on to say in his article, that "the first Ha-va-su-pai I saw
[291] may be taken as a type of his race. But lightly clothed, a strange close head-band around his temples, he swiftly passed from one bush to another as we we emerged from the little grove. Below us stretched a
[133] green, moist plain of sandy soil, nearly two miles long by half a mile at its greatest width. We could catch only occasional glimpses of it through the rank growth of willows, the leaves of which everywhere brushed our heads as we rode along the river trail; these glimpses,
[241] however, revealed numerous cultivated fields of corn, beans, sunflowers, melons, peaches, apricots, and certain plants used in dyeing and basket making, and usually carefully protected by hedges of wattled willows or fences of cottonwood poles. Everywhere these fields were crossed
[312] and recrossed by a net work of irrigating canals and trails. Here and
[342] there were little cabins, or shelters, flat-roofed, dirt-covered, and closed in on three sides by wattled flags, canes, and slender branches, while the front was protected by a hedge like those of the fields, only taller, placed a few feet before the house, and between which and the house burned smoky fires."

"The houses were always nestled down among the thick willows
[361] bordering the river, or perched on some convenient shelf, under the shadows of the western precipice. In several places, within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great southwest."

"When we again caught sight of our Kuhni, in a little opening near the trail, he was evidently uncertain whether to run forward and warn the tribe—whose voices, mingled with the barking of dogs and the murmuring of the river, could be heard below—of our coming, or wait to greet us. Finally, he shouted in a rapid, gurgling, soft sort of language, that the villagers were coming; and then, with sort of a questioning smile, turned toward us, keeping up a ceaseless gibberish, but eyeing me closely, and evidently thinking me the most curious member of the
114 175 party."

The only other facts of importance given in this narrative are that
[756] those Indians have their medicine men and use the "sweat house," a
[515] plan of treatment seen among many other tribes. They have a great
[231] number of dogs about their village, and many of the families are blessed
[648] with from five to six children. They are, so far as the writer is aware, upon excellent terms of friendship with the whites. I am not aware

*Cushing, Frank Hamilton. "The Nation of the Willows." The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1882, pp. 362-374. The quotation I make is from page 374.

142 mouth, round which they slightly curve. The necks are short, though well developed.

The women are shorter than the men, with thicker, bushier, coarser hair; broader, flatter faces, inclined to roundness; mouths and eyes larger, though the latter are less prominent; shoulders and thighs very broad; breasts rather flat and with enormously long mammæ; arms and legs admirably formed, with small, shapely hands and feet. Stoutness and corpulency are common with [481] them, and in walking they spread the legs very far apart, which gives them an awkward and curious appearance *en route*. Both men and women are rather [515] light complexioned, although the women are lighter, and at the same time dirtier, than the men. Among the children, the two sexes appear less different from each other, both resembling the women, except that their extremities are poorly developed.

152 The Ha-va-su-pai are very merry and somewhat vivacious, most affectionate 181 to children and pets, and very hospita- 609 ble to strangers, although excessively suspicious of them and timid, until entirely assured of their peaceful intentions, when they become communicative and familiar; even the children approaching them, and never crying, as is the case with most other Indian children, if they are themselves approached. They [578] are of a very peaceable disposition, never quarreling among themselves, save with their tongues, and then only to resent a 181 supposed wrong. They are never- 152 less passionate, although able to control themselves admirably under heat. When angry they talk excessively, and when beaten or discouraged in a quarrel, smother their wrath either in sulky silence or extremely politic bearing toward the offensive party. Wonderfully fearful and distrustful by nature, they are also long-suffering, although determined and emotionless in dealing revenge or death to their enemies. They

304 in the pulling out of the beard, although
302 whiskers are sometimes permitted to grow in front of the ears; beside occasional mustaches, faint goatees are affected by the young. Scarifications, for ornaments, are not unknown.

● 515 The women, both old and young, are remarkably careless of personal cleanliness and appearance, nor are the older men superior to them with reference to cleanliness. The young men, however, are noticeably neat in the care of their persons, frequently bathing in the river, and careful of their toilet and dress.

241 I have mentioned the things which are cultivated by the Ha-va-su-pai. On these, as on various roots, wild plants, and fruits, they depend for their vege-
252 table food. Green corn is variously
262 prepared: it is roasted, or boiled in the ear; or cut up and cooked with beans, bits of deer suet, etc., it forms the succotash of the more eastern tribes, and
[412] of historic celebrity. Crushed on a metlatl with a little flat grinding-stone or muller, together with green squashes, so as to form a pulp, it is then boiled, when it becomes gelatinous, resembling the *poi* of the Sandwich Islanders. Like it, also, it is eaten with the two fingers. Sunflower seeds, toasted by being shaken together with live coals in an earth-covered basket tray, then ground, formed into patty-cakes, and slightly baked in the ashes, are eaten as a relish with these and other dishes, in the absence of meat. Indeed, this curious sunflower food takes the place, to a great extent, of meat during the summer months.

251 The corn, while still green, is sometimes prepared for storage, by being roasted, husks and all, in hot sand, while the ripened corn is merely dried on the ear. Food is made of the latter, either
252 by simply parching, or by grinding into meal. The meal, coarse or fine, is then used for samps, mushes, or batters, and cakes, thick or thin, and of many varieties and degrees of wholesomeness.
[262] Melons, pumpkins, peaches, and apricots

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343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor 343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres- 533 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) 75 indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times. 343 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the 75 intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat: drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 146-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

● 515 343 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription

If one violated this prescription it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [Rhus trilobata] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätabílyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.